

621 The *Ezo Shima Ki* [Record of Ezo Island] confirms
 361 this: "They lived in villages near the sea or river.
 Whenever fish, birds, or animals became scarce they
 would abandon their village and settle elsewhere where
 game could be found and it seems that they never re-
 mained in any one place." However, they did not
 move as a nomadic people and they can be considered
 migratory only in comparison with a settled agricultural
 people. They stayed in one place during the winter
 [160] and probably moved to another area to work during
 the fishing season. This can be seen by the fact that
 the Ainu in the northern Kuriles lived on the three
 islands, Shimushu, Paramushiri, Rashowa, and had
 fishing areas on nearby islands.³⁵ During the winter
 the Ainu hibernated and the villages which outsiders
 came across were probably secondary villages built for
 the summer working season or permanent non-winter
 villages. There is interesting material in the remains
 of their hibernating areas. An investigation of the
 Kamikawa region showed several scores or hundreds
 of semi-underground houses formerly used as dwellings
 scattered around the palisaded house of the chief and
 the scene resembled a large community with a common
 cemetery.³⁶ In the *Sankō Ezo Nikki* [Record of a
 third trip to Ezo] of Matsuura Takeshirō there is a
 description of such a village in Kunashiri.³⁷ This is all
 reminiscent of the villages which appear in their epics
 and suggests much of interest in regard to the structure
 of communities. Yet in order to take this as evidence
 that Ainu villages were once larger than they are today
 it is necessary to prove that all of the caves of the
 district were of the same period. The archaeological
 evidence which we do have indicating the existence of
 [172] common cemeteries hints that the Ainu had family
 communities, but the villages of which we have knowl-
 edge were more complicated and included, besides kins-
 men, people from other villages. While a large village
 had as its core a group of kinsmen in the narrow sense,
 it was generally made up of more than two family
 groups.³⁸ Each village had its chief. In *Ezo Shima Ki*
 this is referred to thus: "There was no leader of the
 whole island of Ezo but a leader to each village and he
 is usually called *Otona*." But *Otona* was a name used
 by the Japanese to denote those chiefs who had sub-
 mitted to them and in the *Watarishima Hikki* it says:
 "Each village had its leader who was called *Bankin*."

³⁵ Torii Ryūzō, *Chishima Ainu* (The Ainu of the Kuriles),
 70 ff.

³⁶ Abe Masami, *Hokkaidō no Chashi* (The forts of Hokkaidō)
Jinruigaku Zasshi (JZ) 33: 66 ff.

³⁷ *Sankō Ezo Nikki* 2. "Diary of Kimura Shikyō, entry of
 July 9. Stayed overnight at the home of Chief Ikorikayani.
 There are 28 to 29 houses for servants and wives and con-
 cubines and *Utare*. Wives and concubines lived on the flat
 land at the foot of a mountain 15 or 16 cho from the sea
 while *Utare* lived further down to the shore."

³⁸ Through recent studies of *Ekashitoppa* [ancestral personal
 marks] and *Ekashishiroshi* [proofs of ancestry] possessed by
 the Ainu there is some indication that the former indicates
 lineage and the latter family but further study is required.

622
192 *nenishippa*. There were also sub-chiefs called *Shi-bankinne*. These leaders the Japanese called *Otona* and *Kosukai* respectively. The terms *Otona* and *Kosukai* have long been in use and today there are Ainu who do not recognize the word *Bankinne*.³⁸ "*Bankinneshippa*" comes from "*Dankenne Nishipa*" meaning "the leader" and "*Shibankinne*" is from "*Shi-pankenne*" which means "sub-leader." According to Batchelor's dictionary other words which mean "chief" are:³⁹

Ainutopake or *topake*

Ikiripake (guru)

Utara-pa or *Pa* (chief of tribe or head)

Sapaneguru or *Esapaneguru* (the person who is to become the head)

Paunguru (the person who is the head)

He lists words which have the suffix "head" such as *pa*, *pake*, *sapa*, etc. or such words as *Utara koro guru* (the person who controls *Utara*); *Atpa* (guide); *Pungineguru* (watchman).

622 The chief or *Kotan Korokuru* (the man ruling a village) of a village, which was a community of kinsfolk, was necessarily, the head of the family and *Utarapake* (head of the tribe) or the *Chisekorokuru* (head of the family) of the *Porochise* (principal family). His house was built in the center of the village and was conspicuously large. At festivals the heads of families gathered at his house and the chief, as representative, worshipped the common ancestral god.⁴⁰ In a community of kinsfolk where the people are united by the concept of common ancestry and where ancestral traditions are the unwritten law, the people unite around that person in closest relationship to their ancestor. Therefore, the family line of descent was highly important and those chiefs who possessed power called themselves descendants of God.⁴¹ The custom of respect for a family of noble lineage is mentioned in the ancient epics.⁴² Therefore, even the chiefs of villages respected and obeyed the chief family of their original village. This resulted in a chief who as head of a head family had power over several other chiefs and villages. The word "*Hashio*" probably refers to such a chief. The *Ezo Fudoki* [Record of Ezo customs] refers to this in the following passage: "Every village had its own chieftains. The more powerful were called *Hashio* and the less powerful were called *Otona*." In Karafuto the chief was called *Ikosabankuru* or *Kotankoroponnishiba* and the lesser were *Kotan Sabanekuru* and until the Meiji Restoration there were six

³⁸ John Batchelor, *An Ainu-English-Japanese dictionary and grammar*, 3rd ed.

³⁹ Kindaichi Kyōsuke, section on "Ainu" in *Chiri Kōwa*; *Nihon ken* 1: 384.

⁴⁰ Matsuura Takeshirō, *Higashi Ezo Nisshi* (East Ezo journal). See genealogical table of Chief Bafura of Biraga. Ouchi Hirotsada, *Higashi Ezo Yama* (Conversations about East Ezo). See genealogical table of Menkakushi.

⁴¹ *Yakara Kenkyū* 2: 660 ff. Also *Nihon Chiri Fuzoku Taikō* sections on Hokkaidō and Karafuto.

784 Ainu traditions about these.³⁰ To the Ainu the injunctions and traditions handed down from their ancestors were not to be violated and the chief of the village saw to it that they were maintained. Violations were punished in a manner that it was believed would appease the fury of God since it was held that the culprit already was undergoing a spiritual punishment. Those records which have been left concerning the punitive measures of the Ainu are limited to those which lay in the actual power of society to mete out and they do not bear on the important concept of punishment by God (for they believed that the violators of God's taboos were sufficiently punished by God himself and society did not interfere with this divine judgment but remedied only that which concerned itself). But as time passed the power of the taboo receded and the Ainu, in order to regulate their increasingly complex society adopted the same punishments for culprits that the Japanese practiced.

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The word "crime" in the Ainu language is either *Katopaku* ["to commit an offense which ought to be punished"] or *Uenburi* ["bad conduct"] and it seems that there existed no difference between a violation of the village law and a violation of religious morals. Therefore, penalty was imposed equally on all violations. Judgment of crime was sometimes made by mysterious means. There was the method of consulting the oracular wisdom of the maiden of a shrine³¹ who was called *Tsusuguru* [a prophetess]. Judgments similar to the ancient Japanese *Kugatachi* wherein the accused takes a stone from boiling water with his bare hands were used and there was the judgment whereby bamboo grass was laid across the palm of the hand of the accused and atop the grass a red-hot stone or iron was placed. In the latter two methods any injury sustained by the accused was evidence of his guilt. The above were all practices in which it was considered that the judgment of God was being rendered. Torture was also used. The accused could be forced to down with one breath a large bowl of water. There was the tobacco torture which was chiefly used by women; there was the *Nitemere* [to stretch the arms] in which the accused was left with both arms outstretched and tied to a post; there was a combination of torture and religious ritual wherein the accused first drained a cup of water then the empty cup was placed atop his head. If he neither fell down nor the cup fell off his head he was set free.³²

683 Quarrels between two parties were resolved by debate. This was called *Charanke* [to argue] and if the winner could not be determined the debate continued furiously until one of the two collapsed. It has been said that, "If neither of the parties submitted to the

³⁰ Itô Yûichi, *Hokubo minzoku no horitsu shisô oyobi kanshu* (Customs and concepts of law in the North), *Shikô Kenkyû*, 17th ed., 26 ff.

³¹ John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their folklore*, 284.

³² *Ibid.*, 242-243.

PREFACE.

- 123 for "doing in Ainuland as the Ainu does," especially as regards the food, I was not much the worse for it in the end. I never use force when I can win with kindness, and in my small experience in Hokkaido and other countries I have always found that real savages in their simplicity are most "gentleman-like" people. With few exceptions they are good-natured, dignified, and sensible, and the chances are that if you are fair to them they will be fair to you. Civilised savages and barbarians I always found untrustworthy and dangerous.
- 131 The Island of Yezo, with the smaller islands near its coast, and the Kurile group, taken together, are called "the Hokkaido." The Hokkaido extends roughly from 41° to 51° latitude north, and between 139° and 157° longitude east of Greenwich.
- 101 My view of the origin of the word Ainu is this: *Ainu* is but a corruption or abbreviation of *Ai-num*, "they with hair," or "hairy men," or else of *Hain-num*, "come with hair," or "descended hairy." Considering that the Ainu pride themselves above all things on their hairiness, it does not seem improbable to me that this may be the correct origin of the word, and that they called themselves after the distinguishing characteristic of their race.
- 101 The word Ainu is a generic term, and is used both in the singular and plural; but when specifying, the words *Kuru* (people, men), *utaragesh* (woman), etc., are generally added to it: viz., *Ainu kuru*, Ainu people, Ainu men; *Ainu utaragesh*, an Ainu woman; *Ainu utaragesh utara*, several Ainu women.
- 162 The Ainu population of Yezo is roughly reckoned by the Japanese at about 15,000 or 17,000 souls, but at least half this number are half-castes, and in my opinion (and I have visited nearly every Ainu village in Yezo) the number of thoroughbred Ainu does not exceed 8000 souls.
- 114 The illustrations in this book are my own, and are the reproductions from sketches which I took on the spot. They may not show much artistic merit, but they seem to me to be characteristic of the country and the people, and I hope that my readers will be impressed with them in the same way.

A. HENRY SAVAGE LANDOR.

rivers where fish is abundant, as in the Yezo watercourses. The Ainu at Frishikobets took very kindly to sitting for their portraits, and one after the other—all the best types—were immortalised either in oils or in pencil. Strange to say, I came across another old woman, a lunatic, very similar to the one I saw at Yammakka. Her face was that of a witch, her eyebrows joining downwards somewhat in the shape of an owl's beak. Her long pale hands and face, and the long wild hair covering half her face, gave her a striking appearance. She had, however, not yet reached the stage of imbecility which her Yammakka sister had attained. Lunacy is very common among the Ainu, and the unfortunate creature thus afflicted seems to lose not only the respect, but also the pity, as well as care, of all the others, and is treated by them as a worthless animal.

After crossing the Frishikobets River, some distance off, on the east side of the Tokachi River, are the villages of Upar-penai,¹ twenty-one Ainu huts, Memuro-puto,² sixteen huts, and Ottoinnai,³ fourteen huts. Then comes Kinney, with seven houses; and finally Nitumap,⁴ the last village on the Tokachi River, has as many as thirty-six houses.

The huts of the Tokachi region are much smaller than those on the Saru River, and near many of them is a cage, in which a big yellow or black bear is confined. The natives told me that yellow and black bears were numerous in the neighbourhood. Deer (the *yuk*, male deer, and *mowambe*, female), were formerly plentiful, but now are very scarce. A few years ago a pestilence killed great numbers of them, and since then they have dwindled away.

Not many miles from Frishikobets a huge cliff rises perpendicularly along the Shikarubets River. A landslide seems to have taken place, which leaves one side of the cliff perfectly bare and rugged, showing the strata composing the soil. It is of a light yellowish colour, and it is called by the

¹ *U*, place; *par*, mouth; *pe*, undrinkable water; *nai*, stream; *Upar-penai*, a place at the mouth of a stream of undrinkable water.

² *Me*, in front; *mu*, sheltered spot in a river; *ro*, track; *puto*, mouth of river; *Memuro-puto*, track in front of a sheltered spot at the mouth of a river.

³ *Otto*, into; *i*, a place; *nai*, stream; *Ottoinnai*, a place in a stream.

⁴ *Nitumap*, open trunk of a tree.

are all things for which an Ainu has a dumb kind of regard, not amounting to reverence, as he knows that he could not live without them. This has led some persons to define these objects as the principal divinities of the Ainu, and to call the people themselves polytheists. The word *Kamoi*, or *Kamui*, has been rendered as "god," gods "divinity." Now, what does the word *Kamoi*, or *Kamui*, really mean? Translated literally it means "old" or "ancient"; but amongst a hundred other meanings it also denotes "large," "beautiful," "strange," "it," "the man," "he who," &c. In fact, it is used to qualify anything, whether good or bad; and in some ways corresponds to our adjectives "wonderful," "awful," "grand"; but assuredly the Ainu do not by this word mean to designate the objects thus described as so many gods. Anything for which they entertain respect or fear is described as *Kamoi*, or *Kamui*, which thus is applied to the sun, the moon, the stars, mountains, rivers, old trees, bears, salmon, large stones, &c., not with the intention of making them divinities, but simply to specify their power, greatness, or antiquity. The word is applied to every kind of thing, animate or inanimate, good or bad, respected or derided, dreaded or revered, admired or abhorred. It is sometimes a prefix, sometimes an affix, and is the most universal attribute the Ainu world or language contains. We are, therefore, forced to the conclusion, that either the Ainu are polytheists or pantheists to such an extent as occasionally to make everything and everybody a god; or else, that translators have given their own, and a greatly exaggerated, meaning to the word *Kamui*, and that these so-called gods are not gods at all. To me there is no alternative opinion on the matter. The Ainu have no gods in our sense.

Basing conclusions on wrong premises, writers on the Ainu religion have been naturally led astray altogether. For instance, the composite word *Kotan-kara-kamui*,¹ which a learned missionary has translated "Creator," only means "the man who made the village"—a description which hardly corresponds to the grandeur attributed to the words by its imaginative translator.

Then again, *Kamui kotan*, which according to some means

¹ *Kotan*, village, place, site; *kara*, to make, build; *kamui*, the man, ancient, strength.

776
 779 "the home of God," in its real signification is "an ancient village ; a beautiful place." When *Kamni* is applied to persons, it is generally a suffix ; when to things, it is a prefix.

778 But let us come to the *inao*, which by some have been called the "Ainu gods," by others "Divine symbols." These *inao* are willow-wands, with shavings depending from the upper end, sometimes from the middle, and occasionally from near the lower end as well.

The larger wands are about four feet in length, and have either one or two bunches of shavings at the upper end only. They go by the name of *inao netuba*, or "big *inao*." Other smaller *inao*, like the *Chisei-kara-inao*,¹ are kept in the house, and stuck in the eastern corner of the hearth, and in the wall directly opposite the entrance door. Some of the *inao* are shaved upwards from the bottom, others downwards from the top ; and one, a big *inao*, is often thrust through the small window facing the east. Sometimes they are placed about singly, especially inside the huts ; but outside, close to the eastern wall, I have often seen eight or ten standing together in a row. When so taken collectively they are called *nuza*. On Volcano Bay, up the Saru River, and on the Lake Kutcharo, where it is the custom of the Ainu to make trophies of the skulls of bears and deer which have been killed in the hunt, one or two *inao* are placed at the foot of the trophy. Sometimes, but very rarely, a whole *nuza* is to be seen in front of a trophy ; but in most cases the *nuza* I saw were near huts that had no trophy at all, and, as I say, only very seldom were they in front of the trophy itself, unless a bear feast was going on. I am therefore under the impression that these *nuza* are only put up when some festival takes place, and that they are not kept there permanently. I remember that at Piratori there were no *inao* and no *nuza* outside Benry's house, but on the day that the festival took place one was put up, and several *inao* were placed inside the hut, in the hearth and on the north wall. Likewise, a *nuza* was put up on the same day at the east end of the hut in which the feast was given, and the inside was also adorned with *inao* of various sizes and descriptions. Each *inao* is pointed at the lower end, so as to be easily stuck in the ground. The *inao* of all

¹ *Chisei*, house, dwelling, hut ; *kara*, make ; also, have.

772 Even assuming, for the moment, that the Ainu are, or
 776 polytheists, after what we have heard of their gods, this is a somewhat surprising statement. It will be remembered that anything good or bad, dreaded or repulsive, respected or not respected, is qualified by the Ainu as *Kamui*, and we shall attribute for a while the imaginary meaning of "God" to the word. Now, if everything and everybody, good or bad, is equally a god, I myself fail to see the necessity of a hell, as the chances are that all the gods would inhabit heaven. This alone serves to show how absurd the theory is; but I wish to give the exact translation of the words *Kando* and *Teine-pokna-moshiri*, which are said to be the two Ainu expressions for "heaven" and "hell."

Kando means "sky," not "heaven." *Teine-pokna-moshiri*¹ stands for the "wet earth under (ground)." As the Ainu are in the habit of burying their dead, I find it more rational to apply to the words in question the meaning of a "burial-place," a "cold place of rest" rather than that of Hades or Gehenna.

775 "They" (the Ainu), says a learned missionary, "seem to conceive of men and women as living in large communities in the other world in the same way and under the same conditions as they do in this, excepting that they can know no death." In other words, resurrection of the body and eternal life.

Strange to say, the writer of the same lines asserted in the "Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,"² that "The Ainu know nothing of a resurrection of the body."

181 It must not be argued that because they have no religion the Ainu are bad people. They are far from it. They are decidedly not moral, for nothing is immoral among them. The Ainu must be considered more as animals than as human beings. When we speak of a dog, we do not ask whether it is a moral dog, but only if it is a good dog. The same can be said of the Ainu. We cannot compare them to ourselves, nor judge them by our own standard of morality. Taken by themselves they are gentle, kind, brave, and above everything they are simple. Their language, manners, customs, arts, habits, as we have seen, are the very simplest and rudest possible. Thus, it is absurd to suppose that such simple brains could entertain high religious ideas. If they had brains enough to compass high religious beliefs they would long ago have used those

¹ *Teine*, wet; *pokna*, under; *moshiri*, earth, place, island.

² Vol. X., Part II., § 6.

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APPENDIX.

I.—MEASUREMENTS OF THE AINU BODY, AND DESCRIPTIVE CHARACTERS.

THE following measurements were taken on five men and five women of the pure Ainu of Frishikobets (Upper Tokachi River). They were carefully chosen among the best types.

The names of the men were :—

1. Unacharo : *Una*, ashes ; *charo*, sprinkled = "Sprinkled-ashes."
2. Aba pukuro : *Aba*, a relation ; *pu*, storehouse ; *kuro*, a man = "Related to the man of the storehouse."
3. Pe chantwe : *Pe*, undrinkable water ; *chan*, to run away ; *we*, to tell = "Who ran to tell of the undrinkable water."
4. Kosankeyan : *Ko san*, to go down ; *ke*, eating ; *yan*, cold.
5. Yei Ainu : *Yei*, dangerous ; *Ainu*, Ainu.

The following were the names of the women :—

1. Usattean : *Usat*, cinders ; *tean*, long.
2. Korunke : *Korun*, ice ; *ke*, to eat = "Ice-eater."
3. Sho kem : *Sho*, so ; *kem*, blood = "Covered with blood."
4. Uina mon : *Uina* or *Una*, ashes ; *mon*, tranquil.
5. Reoback : *Re*, three ; *oback*, to burst = "Who burst three times."

HEIGHT.

MEN.		WOMEN.	
inches.		inches.	
1. 61	} Med. 62½.	1. 58½	} Med. 58½.
2. 65		2. 59½	
3. 60½		3. 59½	
4. 64½		4. 54½	
5. 61		5. 59½	

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778 More attention is due to the considerations of W. G. ASTON,¹
 174 who derives the inau from the Japanese Shinto cult, and connects them with the so-called *gohei*, sacrificial sticks hung around with strips of colored paper. In earliest times, argues this investigator, fabrics, yarn, and fibres of textile plants, were very frequently to be found among the common offerings of the Shinto cult. Later on, these real offerings, bearing the name "nusa," assumed a purely fictitious form, having been supplanted by sticks with strips of fabrics or fibres of plants attached to them; and later still, when cotton came into general use, they were entirely superseded by strips of paper. These very sticks, hung around with strips of paper, and called "gohei," are, in the opinion of Aston, the prototypes of the Ainu inau. In their subsequent evolution, these gohei, and with them the inau, have become, from mere objects of offering, independent objects of worship, having been transformed into miracle-working magic beings, and even receptacles of spirit-deities.

778 However tempting the acceptance of this hypothesis may
 114 seem,—the more so because the gohei indeed somewhat re-
 194 semble the inau in shape; and, furthermore, the most ancient forms of gohei bear the name "nusa,"² identical with the Ainu name for a group of inau,³—yet the reasons adduced by the author in support of his hypothesis are not conclusive. Indeed, if the inau are but the Japanese nusa and gohei, then the Ainu, like the Japanese, would have passed from fabrics and fibres to paper; or, if paper strips were for some reason or other beyond their means, they would have retained the old form of nusa,—that is, fabrics and spinning-yarns,—which would be the more natural, as the Ainu are familiar with the weaver's art; and textile material, in the form of nettle and elm-bast, was always ready at hand.

¹ The Japanese Gohei and the Ainu Inau (Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1901, Vol. XXXI).

² In reality, the Ainu have their own synonyms for "nusa," *inau-chipa*; and the Japanese, on the other hand, call the Ainu nusa by the name *inau no rui*. Compare this word in BATCHELOR's Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary.

³ See p. 429.

I

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE to describe any aspect of Ainu life without reference to ritual practices. The Ainu were, and many still are, saturated with animistic beliefs and these beliefs lead them to have recourse to ritual on so many occasions that some understanding of their relations with the spirit world is necessary for an adequate description of any aspect of their life. Social organization, hearth and home, hunting and fishing, festivals, disease, psychic ailments, medicines, birth, death and funeral observances—all demand some special reference to religious and magical procedures. To the Ainu all life is based on established beliefs, most of which involve supplication to the spirit powers in which they trust. In the present chapter I shall deal with these fundamental ideas, and follow this with a brief description of the usual methods of securing good will and help while reserving for later chapters details of particular rites designed to assist the good spirits in resisting evil. 771

The Ainu have no priesthood; the head of the family carries out the traditional ritual, and the home is the place of worship. [782] [28]

Three Ainu words indicate the main features of Ainu religion: *ramat*, *kamui* and *inau*. The significance of the two former is somewhat variable, but the first always, and the second usually, refers to invisible spirit powers. The third, *inau* (offering), is a hand-made object, a stick to which shavings are attached. It is made as an offering to a *kamui* (god or spirit), and is itself sacred. There is a great variety of these *inau*; they play an important part in Ainu life and ritual and will be described in detail later. A group of these [793] [592] 771 192 •

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

771 *inau* is called *nusa*, a word which will occur frequently in this
 192 work.

771 *Ramat* (literally, heart) is a word that cannot be translated, and
 774 stands for a concept not easy to describe. The nearest English
 192 equivalents are soul or spirit. I will quote the explanations given
 me by some of my informants, all learned elders (*ekashi*). Kotan-
 Pira said *ramat* was the backbone of Ainu religion. Rennuikesh,
 eighty years old, very active and intelligent, who came from the
 north of Hokkaido, said: 'Whatever has no *ramat* has nothing'.
 Nisukrek and other elders agreed with this: '*Ramat* is all-pervading
 and indestructible'. Uesanash said: '*Ramat* is everywhere'. It varies
 vastly in amount and concentration; for example, as one elder put
 it, *ramat* in the seed of a plant is not like that in a man. It is liable
 to shift from one place to another but is never diminished through-
 out all changes of position. I find no better all-round description
 than in the lines of Wordsworth:

A motion and a spirit that impels
 All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
 And rolls through all things.

When objects are burnt or broken, *ramat* vacates them. When
 living things—men, animals, trees or plants—die, *ramat* leaves
 them and goes elsewhere, but does not perish. On this account
 weapons and utensils buried with the dead are often broken so
 that their *ramat* may accompany the deceased.

Ainu religion in general perspective presents every phase of
 animistic belief. Pervasion of everything by *ramat* provides reason
 for faith in amulets. The skulls of certain animals stuffed with
 sacred curled shavings (*inau-kike*) serve to retain concentrated *ramat*.

[778] Of similar meaning to *ramat* is *inotu*, translated by Batchelor as
 'life'. This word is known to few elders, but is often met with in
 the ancient songs known in the Hokkaido as *yukara*. Like *ramat*,
 this word, as used in the songs, implies life extended to inanimate
 things which, being broken, also 'die'. It was more often applied,
 however, to persons. None of my informants has identified life or
 spirit with breath, nor have they the conviction that there is a
 connection between the life of a person and his shadow. They
 recognize, of course, that arrest of breathing is proof of death, but
 maintain that when a person is asleep, in a faint, or unconscious
 from any cause, *ramat* leaves the body and may not return. In

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such a state a person, though breathing, is said to be *ramat sak* (without soul).

The Ainu speak of evil spirits as casting no shadow, but the reason is that they are themselves supposed to be shades of gloom. I have not met anyone who believes that a person's shadow be-tokens *ramat*.

We now come to the *kamui*, under which term are included not only the deities of the Ainu pantheon but numerous independent spirits of lesser degree. The term may also be applied to anything remarkable, incomprehensible or even exceptionally beautiful, as we might speak of 'divine beauty'. In its context the word can usually be understood without difficulty. Like human beings, *kamui* are loosely classified as good or beautiful (*pirika*), bad or hostile (*wen*), and mischievous but not always malevolent (*koshne*). There are also spirits which may be called insouciant *kamui*, neither good nor bad in themselves, which if properly treated may help the good *kamui* in their task of repelling or expelling the 'evil spirits' (as I shall translate *wen kamui*) which seek to harm the Ainu.

Apart from these evil spirits, it is a fixed belief that indifferent or even good *kamui* may take umbrage at inconsiderate treatment. The Ainu estimate the powers of the *kamui*, whether good or evil, largely by their own standards, but most elders are agreed that the thoughts of the *kamui* are not quite the same as human thoughts. As my informant, the aged Rennuikesh Ekashi, observed: 'They have thoughts to themselves' (*yaikoshiram*). Formerly every care was taken not to hurt the feelings of good *kamui*. Deep reverence was paid to most of them and provocation was guarded against by strict taboos. Even the deadly *kamui* of pestilence, and especially of smallpox, against which the good *kamui*, even when assisted by magico-religious rites, were unable to operate successfully, were usually treated with respect; to speak of them as evil spirits was to evoke more wrath and frightfulness. These spirits were also known as punishing (*pakoro*) *kamui*, and in most places no attempt was made to resist their attacks. They were merely pleaded with and placatory offerings were made to them. Evil *kamui* could as a rule be restrained by the good ones, backed by magical rites, but even so, inducements to quit sometimes were, and still are, held out to them. Certainly in the case of good *kamui* the rule was to treat them with reverence tinged with awe (*oripak*).

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FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

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771 long as this does not reflect upon the standing of any god worshipped by the community in general. Though there are some places where such preference is marked, in no place visited by me is the ancestral cult with its concomitant worship of the hearth spirit neglected for other *kamui*. The following classification is proposed:

1. Remote and traditional *kamui*.
2. Familiar or accessible and trustworthy *kamui*.
3. Subsidiary *kamui*.
4. Theriomorphic *kamui*.
5. Spirit helpers and personal *kamui*.
6. Mischievous and malicious *kamui*.
7. *Kamui* of pestilence.
8. Things of unutterable horror.

Among the *kamui* are certain gods associated with the firmament. The chief of these is Kando-koro Kamui, Possessor of the Sky, who deputed Moshiri-kara Kamui to prepare the world, that is to say the land of the Ainu. Batchelor regards the existence of this high god as proof that the Ainu fell into polytheism from a pristine monotheism, though still professing belief in the 'one true God'. He tells us that this 'God of gods' is the 'Creator and Possessor of Heaven', and that the Ainu gave him the name of Pase-Kamui. He states that Pase-Kamui may be addressed also as Kotan-kara Kamui, Moshiri-kara Kamui and Kando-koro Kamui. He concludes:

Thus far then, we have reached a real basis for two articles of Ainu belief, viz.

- (a) I believe in one supreme God, the Creator of all worlds and places, who is the Possessor of Heaven, whom we call *Pase Kamui*, 'The true God' . . .
- (b) I believe also in the existence of a multitude of inferior deities (*kamui*), all subject to this one Creator, who are His servants, who receive their life and power from Him, and who act and govern the world under Him.¹

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¹ Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 1, p. 140. It should be noted that *kara*, when used in compound names, means 'maker' or 'creator', and *koro* means 'owner' or 'possessor'. Except in the case of Moshiri-kara Kamui Munro does not use the particle *kara*. But Mr Watanabe collates Kotan-kara Kamui with A-e-oins Kamui as a creator, thus following Batchelor's interpretation. It seems that the authorities quoted by Mr Watanabe also followed

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

In presenting Pase-Kamui as the 'one true God' of Ainu belief, Batchelor has, it seems to me, in all sincerity adapted Ainu beliefs to his own, and it is probable that some Ainu, wishing to please him, echoed some of his religious teaching. The word *pase* means weighty or important. During my long residence at Nibutani I observed many ceremonies and discussed matters of belief with many elders of good standing, and was always told that there are many *pase-kamui*, of whom Kando-koro Kamui is one. So far as I know he gets no special worship anywhere, but whether or not there is any exception to this it is safe to say that the term *pase-kamui* is generally applied as an indication of reverence to at least a dozen *kamui*, and is never a name for one alone.

In the Saru and Mukawa districts, embracing a wide area, the following are recognized as *pase-kamui* by most elders, though not all are positive about every one in the list: Kamui Fuchi, Nusakoro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui, Hash-inau-uk Kamui, Wakka-ush Kamui, Chisei-koro Kamui, Kotan-koro Kamui, Shinrit Kamui, Kanna Kamui, Kenru Katkimat, Chup Kamui, Imosh Kamui, and the important theriomorphic kamui Kim-un Kamui or Metot-ush Kamui (the Bear Kamui), Rep-un Kamui, Kinashut Kamui, Korokeu Kamui and Shitumbe Kamui.

In the north, Kanna Kamui, the thunder god, is given a special *inau*. There is an old saying that he fertilizes the soil, and this belief may be due to the traditional identification of lightning with the serpent.

Storm gods are not worshipped. Gales from the east and south are believed to be sent by evil spirits, but, curiously, wind from the north is good. An old poem, quoted in full in *Man*, Mar. 1938,¹ seems to praise the north wind for having brought the ships of their ancestors to the present abode of the Ainu.

The sun, Chup Kamui (shining thing), formerly received much more worship than now, though the moon (darkness-shining, *kunna-chup*, night-shining, *an-chup*, or *tombe*²) as humble wife of the sun, appears to have been ignored. Many years ago, at Oshoro on the west coast of Hokkaido, I photographed and drew to scale

Batchelor. Munro does not mention Kotan-kara Kamui, but frequently refers to Kotan-koro Kamui, the Eagle-Owl Kamui. The importance of the cult of the Eagle Owl is referred to in Chapter XII, p. 153.—B.Z.S.

¹ Munro, *Yaikureharepa: an Old Ainu Oration*, *Man*, March 1938, No. 33.

² Batchelor, *An Ainu English-Japanese Dictionary and Grammar*, Tokyo, 1905.

THE KAMUI

which houses are built, and he is regarded as their owner and protector. His *ramat* has a resort in a cluster of *inau* called the soul *nusa* (*ram nusa*) just outside the sacred window.

We now come to the most trusted and revered *kamui* in the Ainu pantheon, Kamui Fuchi, Supreme Ancestress¹ and ruler of all departed spirits, whose *ramat* is manifested in the sacred fire of the hearth. She is also known as Abe Kamui, deity of fire, and shares with Shiramba Kamui the title of Owner of the World (Shiri-koro Kamui). Her supreme importance is seen in the fact that no *kamui* is approached for aid without preliminary prayer to her. In prayer or 'sacred talk' (*innono-itak*) she is addressed as Iresu Kamui—She Who Rears the Ainu. When a child dies before it is weaned its *ramat* is kept by Kamui Fuchi until it can be reborn. Most elderly Ainu still believe that generation is not caused by the act of sexual intercourse but that it is due to the return of a soul from the Underworld under proper auspices.

The hearth is the entrance to the abode of the dead. It is commonly believed that nothing must be allowed to contaminate it, and that no evil deed must be contemplated in Kamui Fuchi's presence. When the hearth fire is covered with ashes at night—it is never extinguished—Kamui Fuchi is supposed to retire to rest. She never leaves the hearth, but orders other *kamui* to deputize for her outside. When, as in childbirth, there is impurity within the house a second fire is made at the lower end of the hearth, and Uari Kamui, as substitute for Kamui Fuchi, takes charge there.

It was Kamui Fuchi who gave the Ainu women instructions to make the sacred girdles (see Chapter XII).

There are various accounts of her origin. According to one she descended from the heavens and was accompanied by Kanna Kamui, the god of thunder and lightning, in his guise of a fiery serpent. This god is represented by Kinashut Kamui, with whom Kamui Fuchi is closely connected in ritual. According to another

¹ *Ehaski, Fuchi*: There is some ambiguity in the translation of these two words. The former usually means elder, and implies respect. It is translated as such in this book when it applies to a living man, but when applied to a deceased person or to a *kamui* Munro considers it to mean ancestor and to imply ancestor worship. In the same way, *Fuchi* means old woman or grandmother. As Kamui Fuchi is regarded as the ancestress by all Ainu women, Munro refers to her frequently as 'Supreme Ancestress'. Mr Watanabe criticizes Munro's use of *ehaski* and *fuchi* as ancestor and ancestress.—B.Z.S.

V

HEARTH AND HOME

THE AINU house is commonly called *chisei*, but as we have seen, the ancient name was *kenru*. The house of the Ainu was a place for worship of the *kumui* almost as much as a home. The Ainu seem never to have had temples. The nearest thing to such was the house of the village chief, *sapane-guru*.¹ This was much larger than other houses and was often resorted to on great occasions such as a Bear Festival. I am told that in this district when several families had reared captured bear cubs for sacrifice it was not unusual for all to be included in one celebration at the house of the chief, though this was not an invariable rule.² Such a house might hold more than a hundred persons when crowded together. In times of emergency or communal anxiety special services of supplication might be held there, but as a rule every man's house was his temple, enshrining the hearth-fire sacred to Kamui Fuchi.

Immediately outside, the *ramat* of the *kumui* at the *inu*-fences, already described, conferred protection and help on those who served them. Moreover, the house and its contents were believed to be permeated by *ramat* from Shiramba Kamui, and because of this it was necessary to perform rites of exorcism to make sure that no evil spirits were lurking about it (see Chapter VI).

¹ The title, which means 'superior person', was given to the chief of a village district (*kotan*). The office was hereditary, the eldest son succeeding unless he was incapable or otherwise objectionable. In the old days an unsatisfactory chief might be killed if he did not mend his ways.—N.G.M.

² The salmon ceremony was held in the chief's house. The cult group consisted of the male householders of the locality. The bear ceremony was usually held in each hunter's house in turn.—H.W.

HEARTH AND HOME

342 In the construction of the Ainu roof, the main, and so far as I can learn, unique, feature, is the pair of tripods known as stretch-in wood (*ketun-ni*). The word *ni*, which means tree or thing of wood, here indicates poles or posts.¹ Plate X, fig. 4, shows a rough model of the *ketun-ni*. These remarkable tripods render the roof extremely stable and are well suited to the need for a central hearth. The design of the Ainu roof is anything but primitive, and having regard to the simple materials used is the most ingenious known to me. It is stable in violent storms and has proved resistant to earthquake shocks. The high pitch of the roof prevents excessive accumulation of snow, under which I have seen Japanese roofs fall in. It bears a heavy thatch which sheds the rain. It is high enough to be almost beyond the reach of sparks and takes most of the smoke, which escapes at one or other end of the ridge. The smoke from the central hearth is, however, sometimes almost intolerable unless one is sitting on the floor. Formerly, when the Ainu owned the forests, wood was stored till dry, but now green wood is mostly used and even that is scarce.

[177] The roof is still so highly venerated that even when a Japanese type of house is built the old-style roof is sometimes retained, though younger Ainu prefer a flat ceiling, which is more suited to the use of stoves or braziers.

[353] The dwelling-house is a single room partitioned by matting as required. Formerly there was either a built-out or a lean-to shed (*shem*) which formed a porch protecting the house entrance from direct wind and rain, and was a place for storing such things as a wooden pestle and mortar for grinding grain. Here unweaned babies were buried, and the mother's tears would fall with milk pressed from her breasts. The infant soul is still generally believed to be cared for by Kamui Fuchi until it enters its mother's womb to be reborn.

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[776] In the past Ainu houses had no doors, but in the doorways of the well-to-do a specially strong mat was suspended. The Apa-sam Kamui on either side of the entrance guarded the house against

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[174] ¹ When hunters put up a temporary shelter they used a tripod frame over which they stretched deer or bear skins. This was also called *ketun-ni*. In legends (*usbekere*) two kinds of house are spoken of, the *yara chisei* which was covered with bark and the *poro ketunchi chisei* (large *ketunchi* house), which was covered with skins. Munro points out that this supports his hypothesis, that the tripod represents a survival of the tent of the ancient nomadic Ainu.

HEARTH AND HOME

514 Mention must be made of two important structures outside the house—the privy and the storehouse. The Ainu did not use the privy as a source of fertilizer for the crops; Batchelor says he was told that it would be an impertinence to the *kamui* of vegetation to offer them help in this way. Nowadays men's and women's privies are usually together, with a flimsy partition or none, but formerly, I was told, the distance between the two privies was not less than twenty feet, the women's being further from the house than the men's. Religion prescribed separate privies, less for the avoidance of indecency than from a fear that the contagion of menstruation and pregnancy might interfere with Ru-koro Kamui's vigour in repelling and expelling evil spirits.

[771] Storehouses (*pu*) were always raised on posts four to five feet high. The chief object was protection from rats and mice. Bears could smash them easily, but their attempts were often put to flight or kept at bay by the dogs. The rat was the worst enemy, often finding its way in to devour millet or other food. Snakes also entered, ate the young rats and drove away or even killed the big ones.

[462] The snake was a minor *kinashut kamui*, and as protector of provisions was known either as Haru¹ (provisions) *Kamui* or *Pu-Epungine* (store-protecting) *Kamui*. The women have charge of the storehouse; their respect for the snakes is mingled with fear.

231 Today one rarely sees a bear cub kept in a cage, either in the shed or outside, but in the days when the great Bear Festival was held it was a common sight. The only animals now kept are a dog or two in the shed.

776 The last spirit occupant of the house to be noted is Kenru
 • [192] Katkimat, a female house-spirit not to be confused with the real housewife, who is known as Chisei-koro Katkimat (house-possessing wife). Katkimat means literally ability-to-do-woman, and is a title of respect. *Mat* is the ordinary word for woman or wife, and is also applied to a few female spirits, both good and bad. Kenru Katkimat is rather hazily supposed to pervade the house. By some Ainu *shē* is thought to be embodied in or represented by the *chisei-koro*

[192] ¹ *Haru* means food brought and given by *kamui*. Bear meat was called *kamui haru*, fish *chep haru* and edible plants *toi haru*. Bear meat was consumed only under the control of the householder, and he served bear meat to guests.
 [262] Formerly each family seems to have had one storehouse for meat and another for fish.—H.W.

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

342 tell the evil spirit why his presence is objectionable and that he
 789 must go. Purification with the branches is thoroughly done at the
 354 site of the hearth and round the tripod.¹ Chikube-ni Kamui is then
 796 placed under the tripod and asked to protect the precincts of the
 house while it is being built until the *kamui* are properly established.
 He remains on duty until the sacred fire in the new house is lighted.
 Then he is thanked, and given a libation and such *inau* as are
 usually given only to the weighty (*pase*) *kamui*. In the same way
 Imosh Kamui, though not an important *kamui*, is on certain
 occasions given *inau* as if he were one.

342 When the house has been built, before the House-Warming
 796 Ceremony, Chikube-ni Kamui is gently taken out through the
 778 sacred window and brought to the soul *nusa*. Laid at an angle
 776 against the *inau* fence, with his gifts of *inau* at his side, he receives
 782 a parting drink and word of thanks; the curled shavings are then
 removed from his head and he is a *kamui* no more. His spirit has
 returned to the god who gave it, and residual *maue*² will be
 gradually dissipated. This is emphasized because it is the fate of
 all provisional *kamui* who are mobilized for service against evil
 spirits and given ritual dismissal when their services are no longer
 required. Such *kamui* are often addressed in high-flown terms,
 flattery being a means of ingratiation. Chikube-ni Kamui is ad-
 dressed as Ainu-monka-cnupuru Kamui, that is, 'Mightily Opera-
 ting on Behalf of the Ainu'. Though these *kamui* are always invoked
 with the consent of the permanent *kamui* and usually helped by
 them, their *maue* when left to itself is amoral and not to be trusted
 after it has done its work. I have told how two elders insisted on
 dismantling such *kamui* as soon as they had been photographed.
 Both were in a state of genuine trepidation although profuse offer-
 ings had been made to the awe-inspiring figures.

¹ In an additional note by Munro occurs the following: 'The tripod, previously erected to indicate a dwelling with its hearth, must be removed before the purification rite is performed, for fear of contamination by the evil spirits who are being beaten about the site. Afterwards a new one, free from contamination, is set up, with lighted faggots. There it remains until the roof has been erected and thatched.' This clearly conflicts with the statement in the text. The first time Munro saw the preparation for the *Chisei Nomi* he thought the House Plot Ceremony and the Purification were one, and only after subsequent performances realized that they were separate ceremonies, the second having become habitual owing to modern conditions.—B.Z.S.

² *Maue* may mean odour, breath, or wind, and sometimes may be translated as magic. In this context it can be understood as superhuman or spiritual power.—N.G.M.

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

In this case the rite seems more important than the spell, for when I asked Kotan-pira whether the words addressed to the evil spirits were always the same, he said that verbal change did not matter; the important thing was having the vigour of the magic odour (*sekusa matwe eseremah koro*). 342
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After the house had been built in accordance with the traditional techniques, and protection from evil spirits assured by means of the prescribed ritual, two more ceremonies were necessary before the house-warming could take place. The brewing of the sacred beer was indispensable till the government prohibited it. This deprivation is deeply felt by the Ainu, mainly, it is always said, because the ancestral *kamui* can no longer enjoy the offering of the ancient beverage in the ceremony of Falling Tears, which is never omitted at any religious festival. The importance of the ancestral cult is demonstrated by the fact that the Ainu feel more strongly about the deprivation on account of the ancestors than on account of the other *kamui*. However exalted they may be, sacred beer is not considered necessary for their worship. 342
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Inau-korashkoro means literally 'our sacred fermented liquor'. It is sacred not merely because it is (or was) protected in the making by *inau*, but because it was a *kamui* in its own right. That elastic word is applied to millet and other sustaining foods, and also to anything especially striking or remarkable. The sacred brew did something most remarkable, it went to the head and stirred the heart to wondrous exhilaration. It was made, I am told, only for religious ceremonies, and then under its inspiration the Ainu felt at one with their gods. It is true that there was a *kamui* of doubtful character (to be mentioned later) who sometimes lurked in the south-east corner and caused trouble on festive occasions by bemusing some of those with weak heads, but the brew has a low alcoholic content and could not have been entirely responsible. 342
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Though the brew is no longer made, it will be convenient to describe its making in the present tense. First an elder gives a backward-shaven *inau* to *Kamui Fuchi*, burns it on the hearth and beseeches her to protect the process from the magic of malevolent spirits and promises her the first sip of the beer. 342
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Either of two kinds of millet, *piyaba* or *munchi*, may be used, the former being preferred. For a gathering of about fifty persons, male and female (though the women drink little) about thirty pounds of millet are used; of this about two-thirds are ground in

THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS

cedure, *inau etaye* (pulling up) recalls the time when houses had an earthen floor into which it was stuck. Next, the householder or an officiating relative offers two of the backward-shaven *inau* as a burnt offering to Kamui Fuchi, giving her a ritual salutation in which he is joined by all the male guests. Not till after the feast is a burnt offering of food made.

The serving of the viands is called *isaple*, a word which has come to be used for the feast itself, properly called *Shinurapa iwai*.¹ All food served must either be eaten or be taken away by the guests in their clothes. Nothing must be left in sight. The explanation given is that Kamui Fuchi would be displeased if her bounty were not appreciated, and that the spirits of the dead like to see the good things disposed of.

When the meal is finished and all is cleared away, the food reserved for the service outside the house to the departed spirits is brought to the head of the hearth. Together with the trays of viands is one with a bundle or two of tobacco leaves. On another tray is an empty cup (*tuki*) with a libation wand and four backward-shaven *inau*.

The following is the order of the ceremony as performed in the Saru district and, I am told, with little variation in others. The householder or his deputy, wearing a white embroidered coat and his ceremonial sword, salutes Kamui Fuchi and places on the edge of the fire, as a burnt offering, small pieces of the things to be given to the ancestral spirits outside. Out of reverence for Kamui Fuchi these offerings for the spirits of the dead are not put in the centre of the hearth. He then prays to her, using her name Iresu Kamui, saying that offerings of food and wine are about to be made outside, and asking her favour for the proceedings and for the house and all therein.

He then rises and goes to the opposite side of the hearth where a male relative hands him the tray with the empty cup, the libation wand and the backward-shaven *inau* upon it. It should be mentioned that utensils used for this ceremony should be without any kind of decoration.

¹ The word *inau* is an ancient Japanese word, and may have been borrowed by the Ainu. But they tell me that it occurs in their old traditions and that they have no other word for what in England was called a wake. The Japanese word *ama* (deity) has been supposed to be the origin of the Ainu *Aamu*, but the latter seems to be an ancient Ainu word. My belief is that such words indicate a closer connection between ancient Ainu and Japanese than has been realized.

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IX

EXORCISM

(UEPOTARA)

THE various classes of *kamui* were described in Chapters I and II, and it was noted that though the 'important' (*pase*) *kamui* are generally beneficent, yet they are apt to resent disrespect or neglect of offerings. Reverence is necessary in soliciting their help; and accident, disease or other misfortune may befall those who neglect them, or who neglect a custom or infringe a taboo. Thus, serious illness is usually attributed to the action of some *kamui*, or to possession by evil spirits, when the victim becomes 'tied up'.

When there is ordinary sickness the Ainu have a choice of many herbs, some reputed to heal particular diseases and a few magically efficacious against several. But where there is serious illness, whether of mind or body, the older folk are quick to suspect the action of a cantankerous or malignant spirit.¹ Purification is necessary for the expulsion of such spirits, or their influence, from humans, places or things. *Epiru*, the general word for purification, is not used for human beings; for them *ukakik* (striking upon) or *kashikik* (striking from above downwards) are the words in general use; these terms are never used for places or things.

¹ The causes of disease were believed to be as follows:

- (a) The work of an evil deity (*nen kamui*) or a stubborn deity (*nitue kamui*).
- (b) The influence of the evil spirits of sterile women (whether living or dead was not ascertained).
- (c) Retribution for the sinful acts of ancestors.
- (d) The action of symbiotic worms in the abdomen.
- (e) The result of curses by someone with a grudge against the sufferer.
- (f) Possession by some spirit.—H.W.

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VARIOUS RITES

776 Hash-inau-uk Kamui. Apparitions of both are mentioned in
 224 legends, the deceptive one concealing her face with hanging tresses. She was known as Kenash (or Nitat) Unarabe, 'swamp aunt'. Though rarely seen she was held responsible for deluding the hunter. Just when he felt sure that his arrow had struck the game, the quarry vanished or escaped unwounded. She was also a vampire, craving for blood and sucking it from wounded men or from hunters sleeping in the wilds. Yet on that very account she was, [782] strange to say, occasionally invoked, under a flattering title, for an [845] exceptionally difficult childbirth. The invocation was slyly called true-lore talk, and she was supposed to be summoned with the [755] approval of the good *kamui* to perform a task of ritual impurity, the inducement being a swig of blood.

825 Hunters drank the blood of the bear whether it was slain in
 272 hunting or at the Bear Festival, regarding it as divine medicine (*kamui kusuri*) and drinking it for its mysterious efficacy.

825 I have been present when fifty or more Ainu have celebrated a
 796 *kamui maratto*, the feast for bears killed in the wilds. The bear's head occupied a place of honour near the sacred window with
 782 offerings of food and drink similar to those of the great Bear Festival, and the proceedings were much the same though less elaborate. The spirit was given a similar send-off and the skull was erected at the *inau chiba* like that of the young bear killed ritually.

784 Hunters observed a taboo on the word *shippo* (salt); if salt was
 263 referred to it was called *una* (ashes).
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226 *Hunting the Swordfish*

The pursuit of the great swordfish (*shirikap*), called hunting and not fishing, still draws some Ainu far out to sea. When I saw it early in the century it excited great enthusiasm, with rivalry between the crews of the dug-out canoes. It was not without danger, [477] for the mighty fish often attacked, sometimes driving its sword through a boat or otherwise overturning it. In such a case the crew knocked on the boat as a signal for help from the other hunters, who were usually not far off.

226 As it is a risky venture, religion and magic enter largely into the
 782 preparations for it. Prayers are said to Kamui Fuchi, to Rep-un
 789 Kamui, chief deity of the deep sea, and a curious one to Penup

VARIOUS RITES

Kamui. We have already noticed that swallow-wort (*penup* or *ikema*) is believed to be a powerful repellent of evil spirits; the prayer is said while the harpoon rope is being smeared with the chewed root of this plant. To deceive the evil spirits the rope or cord, made of hemp and about the thickness of a pencil, is not called *tush* but *munin-pe* (rotten thing). To emphasize its rottenness, water from the bottom of the boat, supposed to be rotten, is sometimes poured on part of the rope. In this prayer, and indeed while at sea, the word for boat (*chip*) must not be spoken in case an evil marine spirit might hear it and cause a storm or a fatal attack by the swordfish. The boat is called 'wood swimming lady' (*ni-mam hatkimat*) or 'spirit cradle' (*Kamui Shinda*), the latter occurring also in the epics. The same precaution is taken while fishing and boat-building.

After the killing of a swordfish the successful boat is decorated with curled shavings and returns with shouts of triumph. The huge fish that I saw was hung from a pole and given curled shavings and thanks for its condescension in providing excellent food. When Batchelor saw it long ago, the inverted head with its sword stuck into the ground was accorded libations and praise.

Boat-building

An Ainu intending to make a dug-out canoe would not speak openly of his intention to do so and would be very cautious in choosing a suitable tree and in cutting it down. Before leaving home he would make a backward-shaven *inau*, set it up in the hearth and pray to Kamui Fuchi. With deep reverence he would ask for the protection of Iresu Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui, and would then make a burnt offering by setting fire to the *inau*.

While cutting down the tree he would make no mention of boat-building for fear of attracting the attentions of evil spirits, who might riddle the wood with wormholes.

When the log was rolled aside, a winged *inau* was inserted in a slit in the stump, and the top of the tree was given four small-winged *inau* and an outspread-shaven *inau* or a curled and twisted *inau*.¹ A soul *nusa* of four small-winged *inau* was made for

¹ According to Professor Sternberg the Gilyaks also insert *inau* to placate the spirit of the tree.—N.G.M.

Blood was

VARIOUS RITES

partly washed off with the hot infusion; soot from the pot bottom was gently rubbed in, and a cloth, usually black, was dipped in the infusion and dabbed on the wound. At the same time a form of words *pash chi-yai, roshki, roshki, pash ren-ren* (soot enclosed remain, soot sink in, sink in) was repeated several, usually three, times as a spell.

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[789]

The black colour of the cloth and the darkness of the infusion may have magical properties, for the Ainu know that neither the black dye of the Japanese cotton cloth nor the bark infusion could affect the colour of the tattooing to any extent.

Whether the avoidance of tattooing during menstruation was a taboo or was based on greater sensitiveness and liability to inflammation at that period is uncertain. Those being tattooed had to abstain from flesh and fat, live on water for two or three days and vegetable food for a week and remain in the house for at least a week; my aged informants, never secretive about their beliefs, regarded these merely as wise precautions to hasten healing. There was often so much swelling of the lips after extensive tattooing that eating and speaking were prevented for some days. It was rare that there was sufficient inflammation of the arms to discharge the pigment, but the scars were indelible.

[841]

[262]

[784]

The Ainu regarded tattooing not merely as beautiful but as emphasizing group solidarity and communion with their great spirit ancestress, Kamui Fuchi, whose soot protects them against the evil spirits which, though invisible, are always near.

[832]
[517]

In the southern districts tattooing has been abandoned by general consent within the last thirty or forty years. In the northern province of Kitami it was abandoned earlier, and there old women of 70 may be seen without it or with but a tiny spot on the edge of the upper lip.

[184]

Drugs and Medicines

The usual name for aconite is *suruku*, which may mean 'great bow poison'. In prayer it is called Monorushi Kamui,¹ the meaning of which is uncertain. It is a feminine *kamui* susceptible to flattery.

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¹ In the Saru Basin this *kamui* is said to be the head of the aconite spirits, and to have resided on the top of a sacred mountain near Piratori. The headman of Piratori village controlled the collection of the aconite which grew on the mountain, and which was highly prized as being extremely poisonous. The granting by him of permission to collect was accompanied by a *kamui-nomi* ritual and

DEATH AND BURIAL

782 Irura Kamui is invoked for another purpose. If a dead man has
 778 harmed others in some conspicuous way, and there is apprehension
 764 that his *ramat* may be unable to go directly to the spirit village, a
 776 *shutu inau kamui* is made from elder wood, at the house, before the
 funeral rites begin. Kamui Fuchi and Nusa-koro Kamui are in-
 voked for this effigy, which is placed beside the corpse near the
 wall. Just before leaving it is set up in the ashes of the lower
 hearth, facing Kamui Fuchi, who is besought to prevent the evil
 influence (*turenbe*) from leading the *ramat* of the deceased astray.
 The effigy, which is now looked upon as Irura Kamui, is then
 taken by a near relative and carried to the grave beside the body.
 [783] When the grave has been purified the effigy is taken a short
 distance to the east of the cemetery. There, after thanks have been
 given to Shiramba Kamui for bestowing the elder tree *kamui* and
 to the effigy itself, the latter is dismantled and thrown to the east.
 There is no parting gift to this Irura Kamui, as to other *shutu*
inau kamui.

764 In the next rite, the grave-post ceremony (*kutwa amusa*), weeping
 778 relatives kneel or sit in turn at the foot of the grave-post, clasp it
 with loud lamentations, take mud from the bowls, rub it between
 the hands as if in salutation, and besmear the lower part of the post
 [776] by stroking it downwards with both hands. The grave-post is re-
 [551] garded not only as Irura Kamui but as *shiri-shiroshi*,¹ that is to say
 a symbol of the body. It used to be taboo to mention the name of a
 dead person, though permissible to speak of his or her *shirosh*.

[593] This ceremony is performed only by the nearest relatives or,
 sometimes, with permission, by a close friend. Those taking part
 clasp and fondle the grave-post. A father takes first place in per-
 forming the rite for a son and a son for a father or mother, but for
 a daughter the mother's brother leads; the father leads only if the
 mother has no brother. This coincides with the order prescribed
 for relatives sitting by the body in the house.

765 *Rites and Customs After Burial*

While the mourners are at the grave, those left at home clean the
 house and utensils and prepare a last common meal. This is called
 [192] ¹ *Shiri* means land or earth, *shiroshi* means a mark. Certain incised marks are
 [422] called *shiroshi*. These are put on arrow-heads and are not to be confused with
itokpa.—H.W.

Mr. Sugiura SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

428 states that the ability to become a midwife or a *tusu* (diviner) is
 [759] inherited in the matrilineage. Of male property (*maeni-korpe*) the
 [791] eldest son inherits the house and yard. The family treasures go to
 [611] sons but Munro does not state how they were divided among them.
 According to Mr Sugiura, if there is no son to inherit the *maeni-*
korpe it goes to a son-in-law or a stepson.

789 Before examining the evidence for patriliney and its relation to
 [554] ancestor cult the meaning of the word *ekashi* must be considered.
 [192] It is a title of respect, and in ordinary use refers to an elder. But it
 also means ancestor, as is clearly seen in the term *ekashi-ikir*.
 Munro translates the title Kamui Ekashi as Divine Ancestor. The
 [764] *ekashi nusa* outside the house is the place where it was customary
 to bury elders of repute, and it is there that the ancestral cult is
 held at the Shinurapa Ceremony. Members of the household and
 honoured guests belonging to other *ekashi-ikir* may also make offer-
 ings to their ancestors. The householder's wife performs her ritual
 to her ancestresses and is followed by other related women who
 make their special offerings. Mr Kubodera says that the women who
 may take part in this rite, worshipping their respective ancestral
 lines, are the mother of the householder, his father's mother, his
 own wife, and the wife of the eldest son. Each of these women may
 be accompanied by a group of women in her own matrilineage.
 [611] These visits are reciprocal, the women of the household being
 769 invited to Shinurapa held at all the houses of their female guests.
 551 The Ainu had no family names before the Japanese introduced
 [177] compulsory registration; most of the names adopted were Ainu
 [103] place-names, often mis-spelt or altered by Japanese officials.

Munro found that, even among the elders whom he knew well,
 there was great reticence in speaking of the ancestors; their names
 were not even mentioned in their special worship. In the past there
 was a taboo on the names of the dead; in the large number of
 names recorded in marriages by Munro there were no repetitions.
 Names were usually descriptive epithets, references to current
 events or what might be termed nicknames. It would seem, how-
 ever, that this taboo is still respected. Despite the vagueness of the
 information, Munro was impressed by the importance of the ances-
 tor cult, especially as seen in the House-Warming Ceremony and
 the Shinurapa (Chapters VII and VIII). It might have been con-
 sidered that the apparent lacunae in the account of an ancestor
 [182] cult throughout this book marked a breakdown of the Ainu social

/36 cont. /

532 interweavings of roots for an unknown set purpose. Only in
825 relation to the representation of the head, the carvers exhibit a definite intention and great mastery in rendering the full likeness, and together with it a monumental generalization of the real appearance of a bear.

The collection of representations gathered by us (about 60 in number) can be divided into four groups:

- 1) Separate, realistically rendered bear heads (Drawing 3, b).
- 2) The most numerous representations, which render the general appearance of a bear (Drawing 3, v). The representations are all twisted in form: many of them either lack legs, or have the legs twisted in a grotesque way; others lack bodies so that the legs are connected directly with the head. In the same group may be included one paired representation of the bears sitting on their hind legs, with some incomprehensible additions made possibly for greater stability. (Drawing 3, g).

3) A Small group of sculptural combinations representing heads and legs (Drawing 3, d)

4) A representation in the shape of a bear's head with several quaintly shaped representations made of interweaving roots. Among the latter is a piece of root with a tied up knot with separated edges carved up into heads. (Drawing 3, e, zh, z)

192 Sinokava gave all these representations the name of inoka.
532 L. Y. Shternberg translates this Ainu word as snake, inoka-
825 kamui meaning a divine snake. Inasmuch as among the inokas the representations of bears still prevail, one may suppose that the name "snake" was transferred by the Ainus to the wooden image of a bear. This hypothesis is in accord with the grotesque form of the "bears," which seem to have still preserved some of the appearance and attributes of the snakes. Evidently, in [171] these inokas are combined the northern cult of the bear practices throughout Siberia with the cult of the snake brought by the Ainu from the south. (5) As of greater practical significance

5. See L. Y. Shternberg.

Aĩnskaĩĩ Problema (The Ainu

[113]

621 (47) About the territory jointly maintained by the local group.—“Hokkaidō
 423 Kyū-dojin” (The Former Natives of Hokkaido), published in 1911 by the
 Hokkaido government, informs, “Although no definite boundary marked off
 one *kotan* territory from another, its area of fishing and hunting was appar-
 [685] ently more or less clearly defined” (Quoted in SASAKI, 1927, p. 25). TAKA-
 KURA remarks that the *kotan* or a group of *kotan* had a hunting or fishing
 ground in common for all its members to utilize freely and that trespass by
 non-members was forbidden by penalty of atonement, *ashimpe* (TAKAKURA,
 1942, p. 21). He also quotes an Ainu as informing, “Areas for deer and bear
 hunting as well as for fishing were marked off. Natives of a *kotan* were
 not to hunt or fish elsewhere than in their own area or territory. Anyone
 that dared to do so was punished immediately” (Ibid., p. 21). The last-cited
 information closely resembles the accounts heard by the present writer from
 a good many informants. Such, for example, was the abstract and generalized
 information picked up in the earlier stage of his interviews: “For both
 hunting and fishing each *kotan* had its own restricted area”; “Fishing grounds
 were customarily marked off for different *kotan*”; “In front of one’s *kotan*
 was its fishing ground”; “Each *kotan* had its own area for deer and bear
 hunting”; “From the time of our great-grandfathers or great-great-grand-
 fathers each *kotan* had had a dale of its own for bear hunting”; “Formerly
 each *kotan* had its own *iworu*, hunting ground”; “Bear hunters protected
 their respective *iworu* (p. 70; Note 58) as their own”; etc.

● [192] On further analysis of these generalizations in the light of both the
 habitat and the actual gathering activities performed in it, it will be seen
 that after all the word *kotan* is used in two ways: a local group as a whole
 in reference to a fishing ground and a cooperative group as a constituent
 unit of a settlement, *kotan*, in reference to a hunting ground. Actually, the
 fishing ground or territory for each *kotan* was the named spawning grounds
 of dog salmon maintained jointly by the local group (p. 59). Strangely, not-
 withstanding their extreme importance to Ainu life, spawning grounds as
 such have received no attention so far from students of the Ainu. The hunt-
 ing ground of each “*kotan*” as called by the Ainu themselves means actually
 the bear or deer hunting territory maintained by a cooperative group of males
 from families usually belonging to the same settlement. For distinction and
 relationship between the *iworu* as simply an area around a stream and the
iworu as a hunting territory, see Note 58.

Referring to the Saru valley Ainu, Izumi reports as follows: “The *iworu*
 (i.e. territory of the Saru people), as the arena of their daily life, is divided
 among and occupied by a certain number of *kotan* (villages).... It is prohibited
 to enter the *iworu* of any other *kotan* than one’s own without permission,
 except the *ru* public way” (Izumi, 1951, p. 29 and Map 2 on p. 32). As in-

77. Shikot, with *shiri koru kamui* and *wakka ushi kamui*, by Hachiro Kurokawa and Manjiro Hiramura, of Saru, with bear-spirits, and again by Keptaro Yoshimura, of Azuma, with bear-spirits and probably *wakkaushi kamui*. A published material refers to it as standing in Saru for *hashi inau koro kamui* (i.e. *kamui* in the shape of a certain bird) and *shirampa kamui* (NATORI, 1941, p. 77).

Referring to the dwelling place assigned to *kotan koru kamui* of village-owning *kamui*, YOSHIDA quotes an old Tokapchi Ainu as saying: "In Satnai (i.e. Mt. Satnai at the head of the river Satnai—present writer) and Nupkaushi (i.e. Mt. Nupkaushi on the border of Otopuke *iworu*—present writer there dwells in each a *kotan koru kamui*: in Satnai the *kamui* of the people of Satnai and in Nupkaushi that of the people of Otopuke" (YOSHIDA, 1956b, p. 154). An old Saru Ainu from Porosaru *kotan* informs that in his *kotan* "people offer *inau* and wine to Poroshiri (i.e. Mt. Poroshiri, recognized by Ainu as the head of the river Saru—present writer) as held to be the place where lives the *kotan koru kamui*" (YOSHIDA, 1957, p. 57). The only information available concerning the chief of water-spirits has been quoted from Mituoka in Note 59. For a belief in the guardian *kamui* of a district or land dwelling in the water-head mountain of a river along which the natives lived, see a quotation from YOSHIDA in Note 59.

823 (58) *Iworu* as a dale basin and the hunting territory.—The word *iworu*, rather than being a general term, is more usually a particular term to denote the basin of an actual river, *pet*, or dale, *nai*. As viewed by the Ainu, a river- or dale-basin has two aspects, as a geographical area and as a field of activity for associated nature-spirits. The designation of a river basin was made by the name of the *pet*, as, for instance, 'Otopuke *iworu*'. Similarly, when the term was applied to a dale basin, the name of the dale came first, as 'Wop *iworu*'. In practice the term was used in connection with hunting activities, as, for example, "I am going to Wop *iworu*", "Deer are plentiful in Nitatnai *iworu*", or "Wop *iworu hutne*, the narrows of the Wop valley".

192 Many Ainus, when asked what the *iworu* is, answer that it is a hunting
224 ground, for the following reason. Their hunting lodge, *iramande chise* or *kucha chise*, was invariably found in some dale, *nai*, with the whole of its upper area as *iramande* (hunting) *ushi* (site or place) or *ku ari* (set with bows) *ushi* of the occupants. It will be seen that their hunting ground lay always in some particular dale or *iworu*. In case of some hunting ritual or dispute with outsiders over a hunting ground, reference was made by the name of the representative (elder) of the hunting group concerned or by the name of the territorial group to which the hunting group belonged, as 'So-and-so's *iworu*' or '*iworu* under such and such people's control'. It must be noted

that the way of calling one and the same controlling body varied with vary-192
 ing situations, as when the addressed or the subject belonged to one's own 224
 settlement, to another of the same river group, or to an entirely different
 river group. To cite just an example, the *ku ari ushi* of a hunting group—
 Zarashi and his sons—of Nitmap settlement belonging to the Tokapchi river
 group, was known as 'Zarashi *koru* (to own) *iworu*', 'ku(I) *kor iworu*', 'Nit-
 map (name of the settlement) *un* (to be at) *utar* (people) *kor iworu*', and
 'Tokapchi (*shipet* name) *un utar kor iworu*'. It must be noticed that the last
 name is identical with that of the *pet* area seen as the entire river group
 territory. These names, then, all denoting the hunting grounds of a particular
 cooperative group, stood for the dale area under its habitual control with
 attendant ritual observance.

Here caution must be taken in discriminating between the *iworu* as a
 river basin and the *iworu* as the hunting territory of a cooperative group.
 Nor should the *iworu* in the latter sense be taken, when designated as afore-
 said by the name of a settlement, as if standing for any territory jointly
 controlled by the settlement group or local group.

Pilsudsky reports that the Ainu of Saghalin have from time immemorial 423
 distributed all the streams among themselves as private property, and no one
 but the owner has the right to hunt anywhere along the stream (PILSUDSKY,
 1912, p. 136).

(59) The orientation scheme of the Ainu house has been referred by some 342
 writers merely to the points of the compass, while a few have referred it to 361
 the direction in which the house stands to the river flowing by the settlement.

YOSHIDA, who visited one of the Otopuke settlements in 1907, observed
 that every house in the settlement invariably opened its door to the south,
 that is, to the lower stream of the river Otopuke with one window facing
 east and another facing north, the second being called *kamui puyara* because
 it opened to the north where *kamui* dwells (YOSHIDA, 1956a, p. 11). He des-
 cribes about the Ainu of the age before 1885 who lived in the vicinity of
 Fushiko on the middle Tokapchi which he visited in 1907 and 1914 and where
 he became a resident from 1916 to 1930, as follows. The native houses stood
 along the bank of the river in the order from upper to lower positions with
 each *kamui*-window opening to the waterhead mountain and each door to the
 lower stream. Outside each house, toward the upper stream, there stood the [778]
 altar, between which and the window was erected the cage for the bear-cub.
 The orientation scheme of the houses varies according to the direction in
 which the river flows (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 45). A generalization on the meaning [776]
 of positions is also made by him as follows: "In every district a position
 in an Ainu house on the side of the upper stream is regarded as an upper

Ainu ABG
Kamchadal RY3

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/127 cont. / The next and last of the Kurile Islands, Schumschu /Shumshu/, on the other hand, received its population, not from the south anymore, but from the north, from the adjacent Kamchatka Peninsula. It was not Ainu, but Italmen or Kamchadal, who originally visited this island only to trap animals, but after the arrival of the Russians in Kamchatka, they began to take up permanent residence out of fear of having to pay tribute to the latter and because of quarrels among themselves (2). The names of the islands mentioned also suggest

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2. Steller, op. cit., pp. 7, 30;
Krashennnikov", op. cit., Vol. I,
p. 143; Vol. II, pp. 2, 4.

this spread of the Ainu and Italmen over the Kuriles, for in the Ainu language "Poro mosiri" or "Poro-moschiri" means "large island" (3), and "samatsch" is said to mean "island" in the

3. Not simply "island," as Steller (op. cit., p. 7) interprets the name "Buru muschi" and the "Paramusir" made from it, so he thinks, by the Russians.

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Italmen language (4). Moreover, the Italmen on the island of

4. Steller, op. cit., p. 6. This is the reason why the inhabitants of the southern tip of Kamchatka call the inhabitants of the islands "Sumtschual," i. e., islanders (Steller, op. cit., p. 7.

Schumschu and on the southern tip did not maintain relations with the Ainu from the more distant islands without mixing with them; for many years they have entered into marriages

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3. Steller, op. cit., p. 248, note a.

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Among their neighbors on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, the Ainu have a quite similar sounding name, "Kughi" (4), which is also in

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4. I write gh when the g is strongly guttural, between g and ch.

• [192]

general use among the Gilyak of the mainland (5). Undoubtedly

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5. Middendorff heard the Gilyak in Tugur Bay call the Kuriles "Kuwi" (see his travel report in the Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. Vol. IV, pp. 233, 235; also Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, pp. 615, 618).

all these names have the same origin in that they all, as Klaproth states for the name Kuriles, arose from the word "kur" or "kuru," which means "human being" in the Ainu language (6).

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6. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 300. In San kokf tsou ran to sets (pp. 183, 184) "kur" is said to mean "tribe /Stamm/, tribus."

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Moreover, the Kurile Islands, as the Japanese Arai Tsikugo noted in 1720 among other valuable reports concerning them, were embraced under the collective name "Kuru-misi" (that is, Land of Man) by the Ainu (7). Here, then, is the simple explanation of that name for the people and the land.

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F.J.
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7. Arai Tsikugo, "Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de Jesso," op. cit., pp. 192, 207, 211. Cf. also Klaproth's additions to San kokf tsou ran to sets, pp. 191, 193, 194, -- following the same Japanese source.

G 1451 cont. /

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4. (cont.)

bands either straight, wavy, and zigzag
in form or in a kind of braided work.

essentially wholly similar to pieces of this type found in other regions under similar conditions, here, too, belonged to an early period so far back that it cannot be put into any ethnological relationship with the present. Nevertheless I must add here that the articles found along the Patchā River (see /452/ note 3 on p. 692) were shown to many Gilyak (1) to find out from them

1. As is expressly pointed out in the above-mentioned periodical (Vostochnoe Pomor'e) and elsewhere.

whether they still had similar tools, or any traditions referring to them -- they were completely unfamiliar to them, however.

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Lopatin questioned the Ainu and Oroch in Taraika about the stone tools and potsherds found there. The latter, to be sure, declared that during the wars the Ainu had gone into hiding in the earth huts that were formerly on the sites of the present pits, but the Ainu themselves were totally unfamiliar with the stone tools. On the other hand, they told him of a legend which ascribes those objects to a people called Toissi who formerly inhabited these regions but later moved to the north. The remains of the earth huts found near Mogunkotan on the Gulf of Patience, near Cape Ssiraroro, and at other places on Sakhalin are also ascribed to them. Lopatin found this legend throughout part of southern Sakhalin through which he traveled (2).

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2. Since the alleged name of the people from whom, according to the legend, the stone tools and old potsherds are supposed to come actually only means pottery, as can be seen from the above-mentioned statement by Mamia Rinsō concerning the pottery of ("tojes'ju," i. e., earthen pans)

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2. (cont.)

from the glossaries and dictionaries of the Ainu language (Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, pp. 305, 313; Dobrotworskij, op. cit., pp. 326, 327), it seems to me that the possibility of a misunderstanding in the above information by Lopatin, caused by insufficient knowledge of the Ainu language, is not to be excluded.

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After this digression, upon returning to the discussion of the food of the Amur peoples and passing from the Gilyak to their closer and more distant neighbors, I must first state that with reference to them I shall confine myself chiefly to pointing out the deviations and differences among them, in contrast to the food of the Gilyak, as such are caused by different natural conditions, a different way of life, and by different relations with the neighboring civilized peoples.

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The closest neighbors of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Ainu, are in general no less pronounced ichthyophagi than they, but the significant circumstance with regard to food, which is conditioned by the nature of their region, is that they do not have a single large river in their area on which the population could concentrate in the interior of the region, but rather they only dwell more or less directly on the coast everywhere. In point of fact, of the two largest rivers of Sakhalin, the one, the often mentioned, fish-rich Tymy River, belongs wholly to the Gilyak, and of the other, the Plyi or Poronai (i. e., in Ainu, Great River), the Ainu occupy only the mouth, and this only in common with the Orok and Gilyak. Apart from a couple of somewhat larger rivers that empty into Aniwa Bay, such as the Ssusuja and Truotaga, there are only small coastal rivers in the whole Ainu territory of Sakhalin. /453/ Thus, the actual habitation area of the Ainu on Sakhalin consists

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In contrast to the hunting practiced by the Gilyak as described above, that of the other peoples of the lower Amur region shows many characteristic differences in details, as well as in regard to its scope and its importance for their life as a whole.

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It almost goes without saying that the greatest correspondence in hunting practices prevails between the two Paleo-Asiatic peoples directly neighboring each other on Sakhalin, the Gilyak and the Ainu. Even in Mamia Rinsô's travel account (1) one finds

1. "Tô-rats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 185).

briefly mentioned for the "Kraftöer," or Ainu of Sakhalin, almost all the methods of catching animals that we have become acquainted with in detail in connection with the hunting practices of the Gilyak: for instance, the snares set on a tree trunk put across a brook like a bridge in order to trap sables and river otters; the clamp-forks (Gilyak kasma) designed for foxes and wolves, the bows which shoot an arrow automatically when a taut string is struck, etc. Concerning the latter, the Japanese traveler reports that the Ainu also use them for the killing of sea otters, with a fish as bait -- a statement that is somewhat doubtful in itself and in any case can only be of historical interest today since the sea otter (Enhydris marina Schreb., Ainu rakko), according to information collected by me and later travelers (2),

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2. See the first volume of this work, p. 44. Also Nikol'skii, Ostrov" Sakhalin" i ego fauna pozvonoch. zhivotn. /Sakhalin Island and Its Fauna of Vertebrate Animals/ (supplement to Vol. LX of Zap. Imp. Akad. Nauk", No. 5, p. 147).

now hardly appears anymore along the shores of Sakhalin and is
000 known to the inhabitants of it only by name. More trustworthy

Ainu AB6
Goldi RX3
Orok

A /576 cont./ More Trustworthy

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[192] and of greater interest with respect to the hunting practices of the Ainu is the statement by the same traveler that they set up snares similar to those for the river otter and sable also for the musk deer (Ainu likun-kamoi), and, to be sure, in accordance

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224 with its habitat, in the mountain gorges. Accordingly, I am inclined to conjecture that this animal is also caught in a similar manner by the Gilyak, though I heard nothing about it among them. The Ainu method of hunting larger animals, such as rein-

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[411] deer and bear, is likewise the same as among the Gilyak, except that they also use poisoned arrows, which, as /577/ was

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178 mentioned above, are not found among the latter. The bear pikes, spears, and lances required for hunting are supplied to them, however, since the complete decline of their own forging skill, through barter from the Gilyak, in which those elegant lances with inlaid silver, copper, and brass figures are regarded

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648 as Manchurian -- a view which may be maintained and encouraged by the Gilyak out of self-interest. All in all, however, the Ainu are hunters even less than the Gilyak, and, to be sure, not only because they, like the latter, gain their livelihood chiefly from fishing and seal-catching, which certainly give them a meager subsistence, but also because they are too lazy and, as a consequence of the Japanese yoke burdening them, too apathetic to procure for themselves the means for a more abundant and better existence through a more active practice of hunting fur-bearing animals, easily turned to good account in trade with the Gilyak.

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433 The situation is different for the other neighbors of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Orok. Among them the inclination for hunting peculiar to all Tungusic tribes appears in very obvious and characteristic ways. Although wedged in in small numbers between two more powerful, sedentary fishing peoples, they have remained, as was discussed above in detail, hunting nomads

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[439] in their principal concerns and character. Hunting is absolutely necessary for their livelihood, for though they also occupy themselves for a period during the year with fishing and seal-hunting along the seashore and the mouths of the rivers, this is far from sufficient for their subsistence, and only the hunting diligently